1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

IV. MATERIAL CULTURE

Economic Life

433 184 114 Barrett has properly stressed the economic differences due to the contrast between a Sierra and a Basin habitat. The following fragmentary notes are corroboratory and supplementary.

262 [171] Acorns (ma'lɔŋ) were associated with California, and even the Antelope Valley people did not live on them to any great degree. However, the Washo prepared a dish called megi''gda by mixing acorns and venison.

222 [462] [413] [251] [252] [415] Pine nuts (t'a"gam) were gathered by men and women coöperatively, the husband knocking ripe ones off the trees with a big hooked pole and the wife gathering them. The women would pick them out, put them in a basket, and let them dry. When dried, the nuts could be kept for about a year; in the spring a pit was made for storage, in the winter they were taken out for consumption. The Washo made a pine-nut "soup," which was eaten with spoons. According to Bill, people went for pine nuts in September.

226 [343] [131] [501] Along the Walker River the Washo constructed many "fish houses,"—a statement that extends their boundaries appreciably toward the east. Trout (a"t'abi) were speared with shafts about seven feet long. Fish were also taken by nets and clubbed to death. Sometimes fifteen were caught in a day. On Lake Tahoe, a group of Washo would go after fish in rafts (see below).

224 [624] [756] Antelope, deer (mendɛ"wi), and jack rabbits were hunted communally, the first-mentioned under the guidance of a dreamer (p. 324). Jack, possibly expressing a local difference, said that deer were hunted by only one or two men and only in the mountains. According to another statement, four or five hunters would mask themselves with deer heads in stalking the game. They would shake up dirt to determine the direction of the wind so as to forestall being scented, thus sneaking up to shooting range. A communal deer hunt was organized in September, when the deer were fat, but not every year. The leader, who did not derive his office from dreams, would say, "Get together, we'll try to kill a few deer." Then the men assembled on the day fixed, bringing their blankets since they were to camp out for about a week. Possibly as many as fifty Washo from Douglas County would travel afoot about thirty miles [484] toward, say, twenty miles from McKinney, California. It took them two days, camping according to their leader's instructions. The next morning, he spoke to them. He remained in the middle, his followers dividing so as to form two arcs of a circle flanking him and finally connecting again. When they sighted deer, they killed up to ten or fifteen a day. The next day, they moved to another spot; and so on, for about a week, thus covering altogether many thousands [482] of acres. At last they stopped and returned, carrying by means of tumplines loads almost too big for them. For deer no corrals were built.

624 224 The communal rabbit hunt was also purely secular. Barrett mentions a hereditary chief for rabbit hunting[*] and all other coöperative hunting and fishing operations. "He it was who notified the people of the arrival of the

[*] *Op. cit.*, 12.

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

136 174 chiefly by the rabbit and various other small mammals; that of the Sierra region by larger mammals, such as the mountain sheep, deer, and bear.

[133] Even in the arid section of this area there were fairly large streams fed by the melting snows of the high Sierra, and fish of various kinds were abundant. In fact fishing was a highly important vocation, even of the Paiute living over in the region still farther to the east, especially about Pyramid, Winnamucca, and Walker lakes. In the higher mountain section of the Washo country, notably at Lake Tahoe, fishing was, perhaps, the most important phase of this culture. The heavy snows made these higher altitudes undesirable for winter residence, but the Indians spent much time there during the summer months, attracted especially by the abundance of lake trout.

[226] [132] [221]

101 174 177 Of the two environments of the Washo, that of the arid Great Basin rather predominated, which fact, combined with the facility of communication and the consequently more frequent association of the Washo with their eastern neighbors than with those to the west, produced a culture in which Great Basin features are somewhat in the ascendancy. However, there are many features of the Washo culture which are very similar to those of the Miwok and Maidu of the California area.

[171]

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION.

177 182 Since the coming of the whiteman and the consequent dispossession of the Indians, the social system of the Washo has been largely disrupted. The following outline of their social organization, therefore, depicts the aboriginal condition of the Washo, though at the present time no villages in the old sense remain, and chieftainship is largely nominal.

621 [594] [619] The social organization of the Washo is primarily based upon the family unit. The village community is the largest division and each village is entirely distinct from all the others. Apparently there is no approach to a tribal organization, though this exists among the tribes immediately to the east.

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

224 taut, and the lower edge of the net just touched the ground. As the rabbit ran into the almost invisible net it gave somewhat, sagged, and the frightened animal was hopelessly entangled. Men were concealed at intervals along the net, and the one nearest to the ensnared rabbit ran over, killed it by squeezing its temples, [177] and then disentangled it from the net. Under no consideration should a rabbit be struck while in the net, as the blow might break one of the strands, and would surely "produce bad luck for the hunters."

224 624 [428] So important was the rabbit to the Washo that it required a special, hereditary official, the only official other than the chief himself. His duty was to supervise all communal hunting, but especially that of rabbits, and he was called "rabbit boss", pe"leu lewe ti'yeli, literally, "rabbit for great (man)." The informant in this case said that the term ti'yeli could not be translated as chief, but that it signified simply a man of marked distinction and importance. This "rabbit boss" had no authority over single hunters, who were privileged to hunt with bow and arrow whenever they pleased. However, no organized hunt or drive could be [226] carried on without his sanction. While control of the rabbit drive and hunting in general was the principal duty of this official, he also regulated fishing. He it was who notified the people of the arrival of the particular seasons when certain kinds of fish should be taken and when certain game should be hunted; and all hunting and fishing parties consulted him before starting out.

411 224 The bow and arrow, as above mentioned, were sometimes used in hunting rabbits and formed the chief weapon used for all mammals. For small mammals a headless arrow (plate VI, fig. 7)[1] was ordinarily used, while for deer and other large mammals an arrow (plate VI, figs. 3-6) with an obsidian or other head was employed. [177] Firearms have now almost completely superseded these primitive weapons.

226 [262] As above stated, fish form a very important part of the Washo food supply. Certain species are taken with dip nets (ti'gic), especially during their spawning season, while others, such as the larger lake trout, are taken with hook and line.

[1] [see cat. 116, p. 39 - -An.]

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

No opportunity presented itself to go into the details of hunting and fishing. There are, however, without doubt certain traps and other implements used for these purposes, which a more detailed study of the Washo culture would bring out.

Both game and fish were formerly cooked by broiling on the coals of the open fire.

THE PIÑON NUT.

Chief among the aboriginal vegetal foods is the nut of the piñon, *Pinus monophylla*, called ta'gûm, the small species of pine above mentioned. This is an exceptionally large nut and is so rich and palatable that many tons are now gathered for the market yearly by the Indians of this region. The location of the piñon forests, well up on the higher arid foothills and at considerable distances from the Washo villages, makes it necessary for the Indians to move thither during the piñon season, a period of a month or six weeks in the early autumn. Thus there are established each year at certain points in the mountains regular camps which take on a character of permanency. Here are built regular summer houses, which are repaired and used year after year, and here are stored from season to season implements, such as special baskets, wooden hooks, and other objects used in gathering the pine nuts. The ripe cones are pulled from the rather low trees by means of a hook, made by tying securely to a long pole a short stick forming an angle of about thirty degrees with the pole. These cones are gathered in a very rough, plain-twined, burden basket, darû tso'hoi, such as that shown in plate XIII, fig. 1, and brought to the camp where they are roasted until they open sufficiently to allow the nuts to be picked or shaken out. The nuts are then ready to be eaten or placed in storage. When fresh they are very oily and have a rather strong turpentine flavor. After some months they lose these qualities, and become quite sweet and mealy. This change is somewhat hastened by re-roasting the nuts after they have been extracted from the cones. They then have a flavor resembling that of roasted almonds.

[See cat. 116, P. 53 - - Ed.]

[P. 399, A]

881 The ritual for boys is less important than that for girls.

881 The emphasis for a boy is on his developing ability as a hunter. Although hunting is far less important
868 today than it was even in the recent past, few Washo
224 go through the winter without depending on rabbit or
[178] deer for meat. The pursuit of the squirrel, ground squirrel, gopher, and other small game appears to be minimal, but certainly this food is not spurned, if available. One of the common legal conflicts with the
[648] white man stems from out-of-season hunting during the winter by Washo men filling out the family larder.

Young boys were encouraged to hunt with bow and arrow as soon as they could. Quite often such training was carried out by an older male relative--a grandfather or an old uncle. Expeditions of old men and young boys after chipmunk and squirrel appear to have been common, freeing able-bodied men for major hunting while the experienced, but less able, older men instructed the boys.

881 However, all the game taken by a boy was taboo to
224 his immediate family. This included young deer and
262 does which he might kill. Such game was given to another family, usually related. The boy was also for-
• [226] bidden to eat his own take. The taboo included any fish the boy caught.

When a boy killed a buck deer considered by his father or other male relative to be big enough, he went through a simple ceremony. One informant said that in the old days a boy was required to crawl under the antlers of his kill. His father or older male relative then gave him a bath, and from that time he was considered a man and the taboo on his kill was lifted from himself and his family.

[115] My informant, a mother of four sons now over forty, stated that all her sons had gone through the taboo period and were bathed by their father when they killed their first big buck. Until very recently she received meat from some relatives with a young son who hunted frequently.

[178] Whether or not the young Washo are still observing this taboo and ritual I was unable to determine. However, in certain conservative families it seems probable that at least minimal ritual is observed.

MARRIAGE
(2018-2051)

585 Marriage is entirely a social institution, and no
[771] religious elements appear to have entered into it. Traditionally the ceremony, if there was any at all, consisted of a "chief" (respected man) throwing a blanket over the shoulders of a couple at a dance.
584 Ceremonial gatherings, such as the pine-nut dances
796 and the girls' dances were important in the selection of marriage partners, inasmuch as boys and girls came together at these gatherings to engage in flirtation, affairs, and courtship. Dreamers at the "big
[791] times" are reported by informants to have exhorted
[581] married couples to be good to each other and not fight (see also Lowie 1939, p. 303).

DEATH
(2389-2453)

764 No amount of social dislocation or cultural impact alters the constant fact of death. Each generation faces

[P. 381, B]

825 771

the Washo, it seems clear that the animal is held in special awe and esteem by modern Indians.

FISHING
(252a-296)

226 789

Fishing appears to be far less subject to ritualization among the Washo than was hunting. Here again there may be a correspondence between the amount of ritual and the degree of certainty involved in obtaining the desired food. The Washo area is rated by Rostlund as being one of the higher fish-producing areas in North America. Certainly the many lakes, streams, and rivers were the source of great amounts of fish every year. Indians who could at most be described as only middle-aged, recount the tremendous numbers of fish which swept up the streams from Lake Tahoe during the spawning season. While the numbers may have varied from year to year, the large number of fish plus the intensive fishing methods employed by the Washo almost guarantee a large catch.

However, d'Azevedo reports that Northern Washo [787] describe some degree of ritualism connected with fishing (d'Azevedo personal communication). Dreamers are [535] said to have predicted the day of the spawning run. Dances were held and prayers said, suggesting a rather [782] attenuated first-fish ceremony for some of the Washo (2618). Other Washo report "big times," which included dancing and prayer, during the spring gathering on the lake. However, in the actual catching of fish there was much less ritual.

Some fishermen carried a fishing medicine com- [825] posed of dried larvae of the Ephydra hians (Say), called [439] kutsavi by the Paiute (Heizer 1950) and matsi babaša by the Washo. These larvae were obtained from the [262] Mono Lake Paiute in trade or as gifts. They were considered good food and are still eaten by some Washo. However, in addition they were credited with having great powers to lure fish and were rubbed on harpoons, hooks, and lines. Perhaps this material was considered a fish medicine because these larvae are said to be generated from the scales of a giant fish. This leviathan is reported to have traveled through all the lakes [773] in the Sierran area looking for a lake large enough in which to live. At Mono Lake it scraped some scales into the water before it left to find a permanent home in Lake Tahoe (Steward 1936). Whether the Washo share this story with the Owens Valley Paiute, I do not know, but Mono Lake, because of its saline water and its lack of any fish life, is thought of with some fear and awe. Today I get the impression that some Washo still keep a bit of this material with their fishing gear, although they are apt to rationalize it as a lure rather than real medicine. It should be remembered that hook-and-line or spear fishing accounted for a much smaller percentage of the total annual take than did trapping, damming, netting, or other communal methods which entailed no ritual.

MISCELLANEOUS CONCEPTS ABOUT HUNTING AND FISHING

784 224 227 841 [562] [783]

A number of ritual activities cluster around hunting and fishing. Perhaps the most important is the requirement that women, particularly menstruating women, avoid the hunting and fishing equipment. If a woman touched such gear the owner would bathe it and pray

4aDowns E-6 (no desk) 1961 HTH Washo HTH

841 [P 382, A]
224

[227] "I'm giving you a bath to wash away the bad luck." (2304-2378).

[784] A further restriction placed on menstruating women
[262] was that they must not eat meat during their periods. To do so meant bad hunting for the man who killed the game.

262 The meat from the neck of a deer and the internal
224 organs were forbidden to vigorous young people. If a man ate such meat his aim would be bad (340-348). Neck meat was reserved for children and the old. In actuality it would seem that only the children and the almost decrepit ate such meat. One of my informants who is seventy-five, thus certainly qualifying for old age, has never tasted either such meat or internal organs. To do so apparently would be an admission of loss of vigour which no Washo oldster wishes to make. Menstruating women today will not meat purchased from a butcher but refrain from eating venison or other game taken by someone they know, for fear of spoiling his luck. Menstrual taboos also hold today in regard to touching firearms or fishing poles, although at least some Washo women own fishing poles, and in the early part of this century a woman who lives at Carson City was reputed to be a great hunter. In times past, certain women are reported to have made excellent bows but not to have used them.

224 Stewart reports dances to bring deer which none of
535 my informants remembered. However, even in his time the dances were said to be "mainly for pleasure," which suggests the sacred nature of such dances has gradually faded out of the consciousness of most modern Washo, particularly as deer hunting has become entirely an individual enterprise and is no longer central to Washo subsistance.

GATHERING

222 As stated earlier, there appears to have been much
527 less ritual involved in gathering activities, perhaps because there was much less chance of failure than in hunting. However, Stewart reports that sometimes dances were held to make seeds grow (2619-2621). Such gatherings appear to be remembered, if at all, by living Washo only as social occasions.

The fall pine-nut dance was clearly part of the ritual of the pine-nut harvest (2617, 2622). The pine nut was central to Washo winter survival, and its production was a matter of extreme concern. Even today the pine-nut harvest becomes a paramount interest among all the Washo during the last part of the summer. Speculations as to its size, wishes for rain, and survey trips into the pine-nut hills become common, and according to one informant: "If we have a couple of bad years somebody will say, 'We ought to have a *pine-nut dance,' and then we'll have one.*"

222 The following account of the pine-nut dances of the
527 past was given to me by a man, now almost blind, of
[115] between seventy-five and eighty. His father claimed to be chief of the Washo through an official relationship to the famous Captain Jim, and my informant maintains the claim, stoutly denied by all other Washo except his relatives and admitted by them only when they are forced to depend on his hospitality. The account is one of a well-regulated four-day ceremony of the first fruit. However, it will become apparent as other information is presented that it is a highly idealized version. It is valuable, however, because it includes a number of sacred elements of obvious importance.

is more than a few miles from running water. The importance of bathing in Washo ritual life made access to water particularly important. Springs were considered choice wintering sites because the water never froze over.

Material Culture

The following outline gives the main items of Washo material production. Almost all of these items have separate terms in the Washo language. Most of the terminology not included may be found in the vocabularies by Merriam (1904 and 1904-1931) and Kroeber (1907). The author's field data are supplemented here primarily by the works of Dangberg (1919) and Stewart (1941).

A. Housing and related items.
1. Winter house of poles, branches, sod, etc. in a conical form (galis dangal). Plate V, A illustrates a galis dangal.
2. Windbreak of branches in a half-dome form (gadu). Plate V, B.
3. Shade of various forms (la?a).
4. Hunting and fishing blinds (na?angal).
5. Meat drying scaffold (bisil).
6. Sod (tada), seat (ithoienga), and mat (naba) of woven sagebrush bark.
7. Fireplace (diyu tgumatwé) and torch (silu ushi).
8. Log footbridge (mogahat).
9. Log ladder (bakmanga).
10. Fish dam (imbeshuk).

B. Clothing and ornaments.
1. Blankets or robes of whole skins or woven from strips of rabbit skin (dayolti and umbidu). (Plate IV, C).
2. Deer or antelope skin clothing.
   a. belt (mallu)
   b. breechclout (gumyoyabuwa)
   c. poncho (damu)
   d. skirt (tatlugdi)
   e. dress (naagumtaah)
   f. apron (imboshude)
   g. moccasins (moko)
   h. headband (ibdpbeytgul)
3. Leggings (pdtishu wipaa), woman's napkin, and baby diaper of sagebrush bark.
4. Hairnet of fiber cord (magodibdp).
5. Round snowshoes (shumolli) with wood rim and bark or skin network.
6. Bracelet (mdliuydk), necklace (umidauk), and ear pendant of bone, plant, or shell (madapi beads (makau).
7. Hafted and unhafted bone or stone drills.
8. Body paints of red (aawaaan), yellow (waitaatsini), and white (dipak) in mineral pigments and charcoal for black (wdlyauwi).
9. Feathers (tsiaupo), especially of magpie or eagle.
10. Scratching bone for tattoos.

1/ [see end plate V, following p. 74 — Analyst]

11. Bone awl (mɬhi?), needle (bahitsɬt) and threads of sinew, buckskin, and vegetable fibers. 412 283
12. Paint mortar. 415

C. Baskets (singam). See Barrett (1917, 17-24) for a discussion of Washo basketry. The tight weave, decorated, coiled works are recognized as being among the most beautiful baskets ever made. Plate V, A illustrates some baskets. 285
1. Twined conical burden basket used with a buckskin or two ply twisted rope carrying strap.
   a. Large open weave (namayt).
   b. Small open weave (washtanam).
2. Twined scoop-shaped trays.
   a. Coarse open work winnower and roaster (tugabul).
   b. Close weave (modal).
3. Large coarse open twined pinecone bowl (itmago).
4. Three rod foundation coiled.
   a. Large conical cooking basket (giuleu).
   b. Small mush bowl (itmahadpa).
   c. Small shallow basket.
   d. Subglobular choke-mouth bowl (dɬgikup).
   e. Water bottle (possibly one rod foundation) with a pitch covering (kɬtip).
5. One rod foundation coiled.
   a. Close (singam).
   b. Ribbed (beyudate). [291]
6. Woman's hat ? [352]
7. Baby baskets. [412]
   a. New born infant type. [415]
   b. Regular hooded flat type (bikus).
8. Seed beater (tapuli tugabul). [226]
9. Spoon (itdamkut).
10. Fish trap.

D. Hunting and fishing gear. 44
1. Straight bows (halohat) of yew or pine wood. One variety was sinew backed. String of sinew (dideu) or fiber (dumbayaɬgi).
2. Arrows (mɬakiait) of rosewood, reed, and willow (himo).
3. Arrowpoint (ma?sata) made by sharpening the end of the shaft or an insert piece that fits into the end of the shaft or by tieing on a small obsidian (petaega), chert, or other stone point with sinew. [237]
4. Three tail feathers (isisuapo) were used on the arrow.
5. A quiver (itpatsu) of buckskin. [412]
6. A flint flaker (itbeyuk) of an antler tip used with a buckskin pad.
7. Grooved arrowshaft smoother (mashoni) of abrasive sandstone or volcanic pumice. [283]
8. Fish harpoon (beyako) with wood shaft and detachable point tied to the shaft with fiber cordage. [227]

The Washo built a covered fishing platform (ma?angal) out over a quiet pool in the river where a man would wait for fish to come to spear them. Two or three large poles were extended out over a river or all the way across a smaller stream. The poles may actually slant from the bank to the river bottom. It was important to have the poles either in or close to the water and not too high above the river. A small blind was constructed over the top and sides with cedar or other branches. Most of the floor was left open so the fisherman could spear down through open sections of his platform. The term ma?angal also refers to a brush blind used in hunting water fowl or a rock pile blind used to hunt woodchucks. 343 226 [223] [224]

The windbreak (gadu) (Plate V,B) was made in a semicircle about 8 to 10 feet across and 4 to 5 feet high of limbs placed in an arch covered with any convenient brush or limbs. Another type of windbreak was made by placing a large pole in the crotch of a tree and then leaning wood against the pole. Either of these windbreak could be used to drift the snow up away from the front of the galis dangal. 342

The distinction between a gadu and ta?a lay in their respective functions of breaking the wind or blowing sand and of shading from the sun. A Washo may refer to his gadu or anything that gives him shade as his ta?a, but a structure was made with the sole function of shading. This was made by placing four (or more) posts in the ground in the form of a rectangle, placing poles between the tops of the posts, and covering the roof with brush.

The Washo shaman borrowed heavily from the surrounding tribes for his ritual paraphernalia and activities. The shaman was the primary innovator and he knew the medicines and practices of other peoples better than the rest of the Washo. The Washo sweat house (itgumdosha, "it is for sweating" or tashmangal) is a good example of this. The Washo generally did not use sweat houses, but the Washo shaman did. Omer Stewart's (1939) informants described a gabled type of sweat house. Hank Pete told of a little rock sided sweat house that a shaman might use when he began to dream. James (1956, 36) reported the use of a sweat house similar to the one described by Pete to rid oneself of the "Indian smell" while hunting. 756 177 343 [787] [515]

Pete said that smooth flat rocks were piled up to about three feet in height in a small circle, the floor was dug down a little, and a fire built inside. It was just big enough for the fire and one person to lie down. A few limbs were placed across the top and the heat of the fire reflecting from the rock sides caused the person to sweat. The shaman would lie there and sweat, talk and pray, fast, and then take a bath in water. 343 515 [756]

In a similar line with the sweat house was the innovation of a dance house (loshmangal) built at Woodfords (ca. 50 yards east of the intersection of the Diamond Valley Road and California State Highway 4) by George Fossuk and Molly Pete in 1893 where what people called the "war dance" 344 177

1/2 [see cat. #6, end plate V, following p. 74 — Analyst]

a new area. In effect the net owner would receive a number of rabbits in proportion to the length of his net because he and his household would collect the rabbits that came into his net, a section of the combined nets. The drivers would receive only those rabbits they killed before they reached the nets, but the drivers usually belonged to a household that had a net. These drives are reported to have brought in thousands of rabbits.

Antelope drives were organized by a shaman leader who received more of the meat than the drivers because of his special service in charming the animals. Drives for ducklings and mud hens sometimes involved two or three households and the catch was always divided equally. Duckling drives are apparently the only times when tule boats were used. Washoe Lake was the major place for duckling drives.

Fishing activities were organized on a small scale. Most fish were taken by spearing, often from fish blinds built over a section of the stream. One method was to divert small streams (dum¢¢sh) and pick up the stranded fish. Another method used a basketry fish trap anchored in a narrow spot on a stream.

In addition there were fish drives using dams (imbeshuk)[1] or fish nets (stabi digush). The drives usually involved only a single household, but occasionally individuals from more than one household would work together in driving the fish, often with a large bundle of willow branches (b¢l¢shi) that was pushed along (Freed n.d.). The work of diverting a stream often involved members of more than one household, but in any case the division of products was approximately equal according to the number of adult workers. Men did most of the fishing, but there was no opposition to women fishing as there was to women hunting. Downs (1961, 381) said "Fishing appears to be far less subject to ritualization among the Washo than was hunting."

Pinenut gathering was organized to some degree on a tribal wide basis. There were traditional gathering strips for the various households. Prayers and ritual were given for the whole pinenut crop before gathering began at the fall pinenut festival (tagum gumsabay?). Distribution of the pinenut crop depended primarily on the amount of work put in, while location of a household's gathering strips (dimasha) was of only minor importance.

Gift and Ceremonial Exchange

Gift and ceremonial exchange was characterized by being personal, friendly, and by increasing in volume with the intensity of social ties. The reciprocity

1. Fremont saw these in January of 1844 among the Northern Paiute and Washo (Nevins 1956, 343).

p. 303), an elected official. As many as 200 Indians might take part in a rabbit drive. The rabbits were slowly driven into long nets. During the drive, they were shot with bows and arrows or killed with clubs. Those which evaded the drivers were usually trapped in the nets, where waiting Indians killed them by wringing their necks or squeezing their temples. Care had to be used not to break the net and cause bad luck for the hunters (Barrett, 1917, p. 12). Rabbits provided food, and their skins were used to make rabbitskin blankets. Rabbits have remained a rather important food for the Washo, and rabbitskin blankets are still used by a few older Washo.

Today, rabbits are hunted individually or in a kind of drive which consists of a line of men moving through the sagebrush, shooting the flushed rabbits with shotguns. Nets are no longer used. Another modern hunting method which is popular among the younger men is to shoot rabbits from an automobile.

The principal seeds used as food were acorns and pine nuts. Acorns did not grow in Washo territory. They were gathered in California and carried back in large, twined burden baskets. The acorns were shelled, pounded to flour on permanent bedrock mortars, leached with hot water, and made into soup. Another popular way to prepare acorns was to pour a thick acorn mush into cold water, thus forming jellylike balls about the size of a fist. The preparation of acorn meal by the Washo closely resembles the practices of the adjacent Californian tribes.

Pine nuts were the most important single food of the Washo. They were eaten throughout the winter and stored from year to year. The pine-nut season was preceded by a dance lasting four days. This was the largest social gathering among the Washo. During these four days, they danced, played games, and prayed for a good crop. While dancing, the Washo carried the tools used to gather and prepare pine nuts: the hooked pole, burden baskets, mano and metate, and the paddle for stirring mush. The most prominent feature of the pine-nut dance was the continual round of games and races, accompanied by heavy gambling. After the last night's dancing, the chief made a speech exhorting people to treat children and the aged with kindness and to be good to their wives. Then they bathed in a stream and scattered to their pine-nut plots (Curtis, 1926, p. 96). Pine nuts were ground to flour and made into soup.

The Washo still make considerable use of pine nuts and acorns. Most of the traditional implements used in their preparation have been retained: mortar, mano and metate, burden baskets, hooked pole, and the various winnowing baskets. Although acorns and pine nuts are widely eaten, they cannot now be considered staple items in the Washo diet, which consists largely of modern American food.

Fish were the most important summer food for the Washo. They obtained most of their fish from the streams draining into Lake Tahoe. The importance of fish in the Washo economy is indicated by the variety of fishing techniques: they could be harpooned, taken in conical traps of basketry, or captured by drives into nets or stone dams erected at suitable places in a stream. None of the aboriginal fishing techniques survive today. All fishing is with rod and line and is therefore individualistic as opposed to many of the aboriginal cooperative methods. In fishing, as in hunting, there has been a steady shift from cooperative to individual activity.

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secure and prepare these (hooked pole, roasting of nuts, carrying baskets); mano and metate; twined basketry techniques and basket form (e.g., winnowing trays); temporary brush house; antelope hunting method by 'charming'; private ownership of clumps of pinon trees."

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[172]
[133]

Washo winter use of the highlands had been of research interest in recent years. In an archeological survey report Heizer and Elsasser (1953, 18) state that "permanent occupation at elevations over 5500 feet in prehistoric times would be hazardous or impossible." Continuing the project, Elsasser (1960, 26) considered 4000 ft. the approximate dividing line between summer and winter habitation for the California side, and he stated that "in aboriginal times . . . little or no land, even at the highest elevations was unknown to the Indians." From ethnographic evidence Freed (1954, 1) stated in reference to Lake Tahoe (6275 ft. elevation), that "if there was to be no pine nut crop, a family might choose to winter at the lake."

The Freed Survey of Lake Tahoe

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[114]
[124]

Freed (1954) conducted a survey of Washo habitation sites in the Lake Tahoe area by interrogation of Washo informants. The map accompanying the present paper gives the location of sites discussed and mapped by Freed. The sites are numbered 1 through 31, (see note 2 for further discussion of the map).

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[312]

Freed's site #6 is a deposit of red clay near the lake; #10 is at Rubicon Springs (the mineral water of which was used for internal disorders), which was on a trade route into central California; #16 is a cave at the foot of Stanford Rock where hunters sometimes stayed; #17 is a camp among oak trees; #27 (26-Do-1) is the cave at Cave Rock used for shelter; and #29, #30 and #31 were resting places rather than campsites. The rest of the sites were used primarily in connection with fishing, although hunting and gathering were additional considerations. Freed (1954) says:

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> "The Washo spent the summer months fishing in the streams around the lake, each family moving to another river whenever it saw fit but usually confining itself to a particular section of the lake's perimeter . . . the camps were usually in open spaces close to the lake shore. . . . A camp might consist of five or six circular windbreaks (gado), each housing a family.

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226 •
[412]
[484]
[422]

"A permanent bedrock mortar was near each camping site . . . portable property was scanty. It was a hard climb from the valley to the lake and the Washo took mainly bows and arrows, a mano and metate, a few necessary baskets and their fish harpoons. . . . The fish were speared from a fish blind. . . . At a suitable place on a stream the Washo would build a stone dam fine enough to catch everything except small minnows." •

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226
501
[223]

One thing to note here is that the Washo were stream fishers. They never went out onto the lake with rafts or boats of any kind and they never used a hook and line from the shore.[3] The hook and line is reported for stream fishing, but was not nearly as important as spearing and netting. The balsa boat was used on Washoe Lake to drive young ducks, but was never taken to Lake Tahoe.

The d'Azevedo Survey

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[127]

In 1955 and 1956 d'Azevedo collected the names and descriptions of 249 habitation sites and geographical locations in the extended territory used by the Washo. Though not published, much of this information has been made available through the files of the California Archaeological Survey at Berkeley, and the present writer has made frequent reference to an unpublished manuscript (d'Azevedo, 1956) containing this material.

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[823]
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The survey is similar to Freed's survey for Lake Tahoe except that it presents a systematic coverage of Washo land-use and knowledge of terrain, rivers, lakes and natural resources over an area of about 13,000 sq. mi. This knowledge is so intricately woven into Washo folklore and mythology that a long tenure in this region is indicated for them. Furthermore, it would appear that the territorial "boundaries" now designated for the Washo ignore large areas in California which they at least shared with the Miwok and Maidu, and areas to the east which were shared with the Paiute.

The Heizer and Elsasser Survey

Heizer and Elsasser (1953) reported on 26 sites in their archeological survey of the high Sierras in the vicinity of Lake Tahoe. Two similar yet distinct archeological complexes were seen in the materials from their survey -- Martis and Kings Beach. The Martis complex type site is Pla-5 in Martis Valley, along Martis Creek, about 5 mi. northwest of Lake Tahoe.

[3] [footnote appears on p. 93--Analyst]

code and numbered sequence of their recordings, i.e., Do-1 was the first site recorded for Douglas County, Nevada. Sites from which private collections were made are indicated by initials of each site's locale, i.e., the Prosser Creek site is indicated by P.C. 102 172

3. Lowie (1939, 327-9) reports the use of a cedar bark raft, 12-15 ft. long by 10 ft. wide, that was propelled along the shore by a long pole used for fishing on Lake Tahoe. If this was pre-white, it was rare because this writer's informants knew nothing about it. 172 226 501

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

	To	Kl	Kr	Kn	Yo	Ys	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Kl	Al
218. Brush	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
219. Feather	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+
220. Basket	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
220a. Anything	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+
221. Rodents flooded out	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
222. Flares for fowl	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
Eagle (and Other) Catching														
223. Aeries owned, individually	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+
224. Young taken from nest	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
225. Frightened off nest, caught	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–
226. Hunter climbs to the nest	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
227. On rope	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–
228. On net	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–
229. Carries cage	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
230. Seizes by hand	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
230a. Eaglet held down with stick to protect hand	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
236. Feathers taken, then eagle released	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
237. Rearing of eagle	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
238. Nest in tree	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
239. Bird tied up	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
240. Caged	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
241. Eagle-catching power from dream	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–
242. Eagle caught for feathers	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
243. Tail feathers	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
244. Wing feathers	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	+
244a. Down	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
245. For trade only	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
248. Rearing other birds	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
246. Chiefly dove	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
249. Young taken from nest	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
250. Bird kept in cage	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
251. Twined willow cage, pointed top	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Fishing														
252a. Trout caught in own territory	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
252b. Obtained in neighboring area	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
252c. Knyui caught in own territory	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
252d. Obtained in neighboring area	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
252e. Suckers caught in own territory	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
252f. Obtained in neighboring area	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
252g. Minnows caught in own territory	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+
252h. Obtained in neighboring area	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
252i. Salmon caught in own territory	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
252j. Obtained in neighboring area	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
255. Fish nets	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+
256. Special form	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+
257. Rabbit net used	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–
258. Wading in stream	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
258a. Ice pick	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
259. Net used through ice	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	+
258a. Communal fishing	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
260. Weir	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
261. Rock dam	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
262. Platform built over river	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
263. Basket for taking fish	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
264. Conical carrying type	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
265. Special elongated type	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

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Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	K1	K2	Kn	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AZ
266. In weir	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
267. In dam	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+
268. Supported by sticks	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
269. Held in hand	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	•	+
270. Fish driven with willow bundles	•	–	+	–	+	•	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
271. Hand-catch in shallow water	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
272. Harpoon	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	•	•	+
273. Spear	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	•	+
274. 1 prong	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	•	+
275. 2 prongs	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+
276. Fish arrow, 1 prong	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•	–	+	+	+	+	+
276a. Fish arrow, 2 prongs	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
277. Night fishing	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	–
278. Torch or fire	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–
279. Moonlight	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	–
279a. Stream bottom prepared with white rocks	•	+	+	+	+	–	–	•	–	+	+	+	•	–
280. Hook: gorget (straight, bipointed)	+	+	•	•	•	+	+	–	+	+	–	•	–	+
280a. Angle	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+
281. Of bone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
281a. Of bone and wood	•	•	•	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•	–	–
282. 1 barb at angle	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
284. Line attached	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+
285. Pole	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	+
286. Bait: angleworm	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
287. Grasshopper	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+
288. Salmon egg	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
288a. Minnow	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–
289. Grub	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–
290. Bait bag, buckskin	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	•	–	–
290a. Bait basket	•	•	+	•	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	•	–	–
291. Fly hook	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
292. Sinker	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–
293. Poison (tɔ'a used) placed in stream	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
293a. Fish poisoned by "smoking"	•	•	•	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
294. Stream dammed	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
295. Creek diverted	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
296. Fish killed by striking	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Animals Eaten														
297. Dog (sorobuku) eaten	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•	–	–	–	–	–
297a. Mink (pai'una) eaten	•	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
297b. Mole (tɔ̈dzi' kwɔ̈sɔ̈va) eaten	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
297c. Porcupine (tsa'kwuda or mɔ̈hü) eaten	+	+	+	•	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•	+
297d. Jack rabbit (kwmɔ̈) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
297e. White rabbit (tohakmɔ̈) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
297f. Cottontail rabbit (tavɔ̈ü) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
297g. Pocket gopher (ungatsiva) eaten	–	–	–	–	–	•	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
297h. Kangaroo rat (kotsi) eaten	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
297i. Mouse (field) (pongatsi) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•	+
297j. Muskrat (pamnɔ̈) eaten	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
297k. Wood rat (tɔ̈ka'wa) eaten	+	•	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
297kk. Woodchuck (kidü) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
297m. Squirrel (ikwü) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
297n. Ground squirrel (kɔ̈bɔ̈ or kɔ̈pa) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
297o. Chipmunk (woda'a) eaten	+	+	+	•	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
297p. Weasel (pavisi) eaten	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
297q. Skunk (poyI) eaten	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
297r. Bat (biya'hana) eaten	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
297s. Elk (patu'kuia) eaten	+	•	•	•	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–
297t. Raccoon (patakai) eaten	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+

[1.371]

NWA 226 227

NWA 136 262

N 226 227 260. To: - (LP). Ki: + (Kelly, 96): A troughed willow dam and trap. Ki: The weir described by DG was a trap as well as a barrier. Willows were stuck in the mud so as to form 2 parallel rows about 2 feet apart and extending completely across the stream. The ends of the willows above the water were bent and tied together to form a trough about a foot deep. The fish trying to leap the barrier were caught in the trough. It is similar to the one described by Kelly.

W [226 227] 261. Ki: Rock dam was only used to get suckers; trout were speared. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

262. Wd: SC denied the use of platforms for fishing for the Wada, but said the Hunipui employed them. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

263. Owens Valley: Steward, 251, reports conical basket used below willow dam. To: - (LP).

W [227] 264. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

269. Ki: + (Kelly, 96).

270. Ts: Willow bundle used to drive fish was called tuma'numa. Practice was known by ND but not used by his band, the Tasiget. To: - (LP).

272. To: - (LP).

272-273. Wd: Denied by BJ, who described a single-pronged spear; however, SC claimed the Wada used the harpoon and no spear. I am inclined to think SC correct.

273. Ku: Fish-spear tipped with 18-inch legbone of sandhill crane reported seen at Humboldt Lake (Leonard, 161). Remy and Brenchley, 42, saw 1 used on Carson River. Ki: + (Kelly, 96).

274. Ki: + (Kelly, 96).

275. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 251). Paviotso: "The spear, a two-pronged pole with which the fish were pinned to the bottom" (Curtis, 15:71).

W [227] 276. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

276a. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 251).

278. Owens Valley: Steward, 251, quotes from Chalfant's MS concerning fishing by aid of a fire on the bank. (See Note 293a.)

280. Ku: Leonard, 166, describes a bipointed hook, which was probably gorget type, seen used on Humboldt Lake. Paviotso: "Hook, made of two crossed bones" (Curtis 15:71). To: - (LP). Wd: Both BJ and SC claimed ignorance of type of hook used in old days, although both thought lines had been used.

281a. Ku: + (Loud, 41, fig. 8). University specimen 1-42988 from the Heizer-Krieger 1936 excavation of Humboldt Cave was carried and shown to informants, but none identified bone-barbed piece of greasewood as a fishhook. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, pl. 51, p. 41).

286. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 251).

287. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 251).

293. All informants who knew of drugging fish said toza (Leptotaenia dissecta Nutt. var. multifida Jeps.) root was pounded and soaked in pools, streams, and the like. Steward, 251, re-

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N 137 222 262 [278] Nutt. sawava leaves used as tea for colds, etc. My informants insisted this was in pre-white days.

483w. Identification: Atriplex argentea Nutt. unaka seeds used. Habitat, favored desert conditions, good soil needed. DV, a Pakwi, called the same plant sunu.

483x. Identification: Chaetadelpha wheeleri Gray. masai, an Indian lettuce, green vegetable food. Habitat, only favored spots where soil is good.

483y. Identification: Glypotpleura marginata Eat. commösigi eaten as greens. Specimen furnished by Miss Beyers, Indian Service teacher, from a collection made by her Indian students at Schurz.

483z. Identification: Hermidium alipes Wats. hiwovi used as medicine. Specimen from Miss Beyers; see note 483y.

484. Identification: Ephedra torreyana Wats. tsudupi tea for medicine; powder to use as salve.

N [278] 484a. Identification: Psathyrotes annua Gray. saiagava, emetic and physic. DV: "If one doesn't vomit he dies." Habitat, desert.

N W [278 226] 484b. Identification: Leptotaenia multifida Nutt. toza used for fish poison; smoked and chewed by Indians to cure a cold. Habitat, shady places on hillsides. Wa: The same word, toza, in both Paiute and Washo languages designates the root of Indian balsam. At: PS was first to mention use of toza as fish poison. He also mentioned rye grass (Elymus condensatus Presl.), watca wotavö, for house building. ●

484c. Identification: Chenopodium album L., from Steward, 1933, and Kelly, 1932.

W [362] 484d. Identification: Suaeda depressa var. erecta Wats., from Kelly, 98. wada seeds eaten. Wa, At: wada absent from Washo and Atsa areas.

484h. tövusi, nut grass. Habitat, meadows or stream banks. Steward, 245: "probably Brodiaea capitata Benth."; Mark Kerr of Independence, California, had "Taboose" identified at the University as Cyperus rotundus L., according to Frank Essene, Ms.

A [222] 485. AE: A crosspiece was placed on end of digging stick to serve as handle. Paiute name of digging stick is pörö.

N [249] 505. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 247).

509. Owens Valley: Tobacco yield was increased by burning, pruning, and irrigating (Steward, 319). Tg: The Tagö knew that tobacco grew better in burnt-over places, but they did not set the fires. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

N [342] 527. Wd: BJ said there were no caves near Burns, Oregon, but there were many of them on Juniper Mountain. These caves were thought to

N [764] have been inhabited during winter months, also used for burials. BJ had seen the caves, had never seen anyone living in them, yet remembered "old-timers" telling of the caves as habitations.

N [317] 529. Seven bands absolutely denied aboriginal use of any salt. Only PS of McDermitt even mentioned any salt from plants. Tö: The Tövusi went

[p. 429 (A)]

N 624 535 captains at Pyramid Lake. Even in the old days, men became dance captain merely by taking an interest in occurrence of dances.

2158. Tō: Band chief acted as captain of mud-hen drive.

N [527] 2159. K + (Lowie, 306): "The Pyramid Lake Paviotso celebrated the kuyu´i^{i}-nō°ga (kuyui dance), for which there was also a special master of ceremonies."

N [527] 2160. Wa: Hunt-chief had considerable authority, and conducted harvest dance just before piñon-nut gathering (Curtis, 95).

W [522] 2162. Wa: + (see note 2142; Curtis, 95).

PROPERTY

N 621 423 2165. Ts: Indians claimed piñon-nut areas and other places because their parents went there. It was not private ownership. It is like saying "my home town," or "my favorite fishing stream" (ND). K1, K2: All bands claimed certain areas, streams, mountains, valleys, and so on; still any Paiute could get food any place without fear of payment or trouble if he would ask permission. Even "Digger, Washo, and Shoshone would come to Pyramid Lake for kuyui fish." Wa: - (Smith, notes).

W [226]

2166, 2166a. K2: The piñon-nut area was owned by the band, yet it was subdivided among the individuals who claimed certain spots; notwithstanding this, everyone got piñon nuts where he wanted without payment or permission, unless "owner" was on the spot.

N [425] 2166a. Pa: DV said his father paid a horse for a certain piñon-nut range.

2168. Tō: The Tōvusi protected their piñon nuts and intruders' baskets were broken when they were chased away. Each family had several "claims" which could be used if crop failed in one place. These "claims" inherited from both parents.

N [776 782] 2173b. At: The hot spring was paid with bone beads and other things, which were thrown into it whenever one took a bath in it.

WARFARE

N 721 2174. Ts: Individual encounters between Washo and Paiute resulted in some deaths; no war. Only real war was between Paiute and Sai (Pit River Indians). K1: The last war, with the Pit River Indians, was fought near Suttcliff, on W edge of Pyramid Lake. K2: Discoverers of eagle aeries owned them and had exclusive right to them. Trespass might result in fight.

W [721]

N [423] Aeries descended from father to son. Kū: The only Paiute war was against the Sai, the original owners of Humboldt River and Humboldt Sink. At that time Paiute all lived at Stillwater. As a result of the Sai's killing several Paiute who came to Humboldt Lake to hunt, the Paiute

N 721 173